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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

NIGHT AND NIGHT.

The earth is purple in the evening light,
The grass is graver green.
The gold among the meadows darker glows,
In the quieted air the blackbird sings more loud.
The sky has lost its rose—
Nothing more than this candle now shines bright.

Were there but natural night how easy were
The putting-by of sense
At the day's end, and if no heavier air
Came o'er the mind in a thick-falling cloud.
But now there is no light
Within; and to this innocent night how dark my night!

—*John Freeman.*

From The New Statesman.

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"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 1919 Number 4

YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW.

O where, my heart, is the peace you knew
When winds were fair and skies were blue?
You then were young, and your throb was light,
And the future of love and vision was bright.

Red horror descended and men went mad,
Fair fields with millions of slain were clad,
The beauty of centuries all in a breath
Went hurtling away on the pinions of death.

Be strong, my heart! 'tis a world of change,
And the struggles of Man have a long wide range!
Though the darkness fell, sun again shall rise
And courage re-glisten in human eyes.

James Harcourt West.

The question as to the greatest poem produced by the War is one of interest to all lovers of literature. The bulk of poetry which was written and published during the four years of the conflict, is enormous. Most of it, however, is poor stuff. Only a few pieces stand out as having real distinction. Of these, the Rupert Brooke sonnets, Alan Seeger's "I have a Rendezvous with Death," Winifred Letts's "The Spires of Oxford," Alfred Noyes's "The Searchlights," John McCrae's "In Flanders' Fields," and Angela Morgan's "God Prays," are perhaps the best and most deservedly known. But first among all these war poems is one written in the very earliest days of the vast struggle—"August, 1914," by John Masefield. This has a beauty of expression, a depth and purity of sentiment, a sweep of sympathy, which are equalled by no other short poem of our time. It is impressive to read this elegy today, with the War now done, and see with what sure insight the poet interpreted the meaning of those autumn days of 1914. J. H. H.

In speaking of the poetry of the War, it would be unfair not to mention two remarkable volumes of verse which are the product of this event. Neither volume contains a poem of outstanding importance. Both volumes, as collections, surpass in significance any single poem which can be named. Indeed the two books rank together as among the most remarkable publications of recent times. The first, "Battle," by Wilfred Wilson Gibson, was published early in the year 1916, and was reviewed in Unity at that time. The second, "Counter-Attack," by Siegfried Sassoon, will be discussed in a forthcoming article in these columns. Let it here be set down, simply as a matter of record, that in these two books, in all its irony, pathos and indescribable horror, is portrayed the reality of modern war! Neither Gibson nor Sassoon will have anything to do with the tinsel glory and sham heroics in which Mars has been pleased to disguise himself from the beginning, and never more successfully than today. These men, like Barbusse in "Under Fire" and Latzko in "Men in War," strip away the masquerade, and show the monster as he is. In future years, historians will point to these books, and say, "It was when young men began to sing these songs of war, that the doom of war was sealed." J. H. H.

The church, apparently, must always have its heretic. It is difficult, to be sure, to stir up the persecution fever against theological heresy. A man may believe and say pretty much what he desires on questions of God, Jesus, the Bible, the creeds. But what has been lost in the theological field has been gained in the social field. The man safe as a rationalist, is now open to charges as a socialist or Bolshevist! Professor Harry Ward, of the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, is the latest victim to be assailed. This distinguished scholar is declared to be guilty of the monstrous offence of desiring to know the truth about Russia, of believing that the Russian Soviet represents an exceedingly interesting experiment in native social democracy, of stating that the Russian people should be left free to work out their revolution in their own way, and of teaching that here in America, especially in industry, there is occasion for drastic social reforms. Professor Ward is being roundly denounced by some of his Methodist brethren—his students at the seminary are applauding him rapturously as he appears in his classroom—the newspapers are licking their chops for a meal of sensation. It looks as though another brave and honest man were to be hounded, and the cause of truth and freedom again outraged in God's house.

J. H. H.

Not satisfied with the investigation conducted by the Overman Committee of the United States Senate, the New York Legislature has now passed a resolution providing for an investigation of so-called Bolshevism in New York State. Sensational charges are made of black conspiracies for the overthrow by force

of government in America, of vast sums of money received from Russia for the furtherance of these anarchistic plots, and so on through the whole gamut of melodramatic mystery. This investigation, it is promised, will bring foul treason to the light, and lead to the immediate enactment of drastic legislation for its ruthless repression. That talk of violence is abroad these days, is obvious to everybody. That this talk has embodied itself in vast and hidden conspiracies for violent revolution, is absurd. But even if it were true, the use of force for its repression would be the last thing in the world to attempt. Strange that the lesson of Russia, the home of Bolshevism, cannot be learned that it is violence which is itself the mother of violence! For generations the Tsars invoked the policy of governmental repression, only with the result of fostering conspiracy, and bringing in at last the violent overthrow of revolution. The more our legislatures, state and national, try repression, the worse the situation is bound to become. America's own tradition of freedom and goodwill is the only remedy for social ill. J. H. H.

The Secret Treaties and Allied Discussion

When Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to Josiah Quincy, said: "May we never see another war, for in my opinion *there never was a good war or a bad peace,*" he did not mean it was impossible for diplomats to make a bad peace. All he meant to say was any kind of peace was better than war. And now the war-weary world is eagerly looking for peace is there not grave danger of the people agreeing with Franklin? We now begin to realize it is much easier to make war than make peace, and a patched-up treaty may be all we shall get from the Allied Conference, if we do not firmly make up our minds to urge the American delegates at Paris to impose on ally and foe the peace the common people have a right to demand: one based on President Wilson's fourteen points and no other. A substitute will not do; there is indeed no alternative. Every day the papers here, in the meager reports which come from Paris, reveal the utter improbability of agreement being reached by the "Grand Council of Five."

Italy will leave the Conference table and shake the allied dust of Paris from her feet if she is not permitted to take the port of Fiume. The people of Fiume have in unmistakable terms shown their hostility to Italian "aggression," but no matter, the Italian government will have none of the President's high-falutin diplomacy of open covenant and self-determination of peoples.

Marshal Foch is one who does not see eye to eye with American idealism as expressed in the fourteen points. He says the left bank of the Rhine is essential to France, otherwise "the war shall have been fought in vain." This is highly significant. But we did not know before the armistice was signed that the precious lives of our lads were to be sacrificed for allied conquest and imperialism. Of course we all heard the dreadful "pro-German" stories about the Franco-Russian secret treaty, which provided for France's taking the Saar Valley in case the Allies were victorious. We heard the story, but our wiseacres: the professors and noisy short-lived patriots counselled us "to disbelieve the horrid yarns circulated by agents in pay of the Kaiser" about secret treaties. But here we are faced by Foch's statement. It corroborates what Sir Edward Carson said in the House of Commons twelve months ago. Besides, that sercret treaty, and the Russian understandings are now public property, and freely discussed in Europe.

What is it that stands in the way of a peace based on the fourteen points? It is the secret treaties. Many have been published, others, causing severe friction, have not been made public yet. Now it is for President Wilson, backed by his people here in the United States, to insist on all secret treaties being published to the world. The people of Europe are whole-heartedly behind the fourteen points. The people here, however, are dilatory. They seem to be in a fog. One meets with numbers of seemingly intelligent folk who imagine the Paris covenant is based upon the fourteen points. The fact is the covenant does not in any way deal with the fourteen points, for the three fundamental conditions of the fourteen points are open covenants, self-determination, and the removal of economic barriers. These are essential, but the charter drawn up by the Allies does not impose one of these fundamental conditions upon any of the Allied Powers. The truth of the matter is America is the only power which seems to be in a position to accept the fundamental conditions laid down by President Wilson.

It looks like a bad peace. And the worst of it is, the pressure brought to bear on the Allies, of making a speedy "settlement," because of the economic condition of all the peoples of Europe, may lead to a "panic settlement." The pressure of evil economic conditions may force hasty decisions at the Peace Conference, then all chance of ensuring a democratic peace will be lost. What is to be done?

Demand at once the immediate publication of all secret treaties. If that were done, if all the treaties were published to the world, public opinion, the world over, would force the governments to make "scraps of paper" of them.

There is not a European country concerned in this war that is not a party, directly or indirectly, to a

secret treaty. And if a peace is patched up on the condition that the secret treaties are binding, then there will be nothing but war for many years to come.

Think of what is taking place in a remote corner of the globe. The Chinese Government reports Japan is threatening severe pains and penalties if China disobeys her at the Peace Conference. Under the late militarist government the Chinese entered into a secret treaty with Japan. It was a cash matter. Now Japan forbids the new Chinese Government to reveal the provisions of a secret treaty which the latter desires to abrogate. The *Manchester Guardian,* doing a great service for the decent-minded people everywhere, by fearlessly exposing secret treaties, says in a leading article:

> The Japanese ambassador in London says that there are no secret treaties—another illusion. A strange situation—yet not without precedent. When in 1915 the Japanese government presented its notorious twenty-one demands to China, it was denied that any such demands had been presented, and the Chinese government was forbidden to mention them. Singularly enough, when the Japanese government did communicate them to the other powers the most important of them, the amazing group 5, were omitted. Perhaps it is merely a coincidence that the new Japanese ambassador to Tokio is the Mr. Obata, who conducted the negotiations in 1915. It is admitted by the Japanese that there is at least one secret treaty made in 1918 and never ratified by the Chinese. There are, of course, others. The Japanese have, not unnaturally, seen in the great war their opportunity of creating something indistinguishable in practice from a Japanese protectorate. Marquis Okuma in 1915 thought the road quite clear, and rushed at the goal. Hence the twenty-one demands. Rush tactics failed, but the self-seeking of Yuan Shih Kai and his militarist successors gave Japan another opportunity, through other methods. The generals at Peking sold every conceivable kind of concession to Japan, and either pocketed the money or wasted it in unsuccessful civil war. The Japanese government, not content with these gains, was anxious to harvest certain military rights and, in some form or other, the succession to Germany at Tsingtao and in Shangtung province. A military convention (secret, of course) for the duration of the war gave her the first, and other secret agreements were designed to give her the second. Japan is now to lay all the documents before the Peace Conference. We trust that the West will not be too prompt to throw stones at Japan. Japan's secret treaties could not be worse than those the western allies made during this war. The truth of the matter, we imagine, is that the Japanese government had, until very recently, every reason to believe that the peace would be on the traditional lines—a division of spoils. She made her arrangements accordingly. Now she sees that the Peace Conference is a very different sort of affair, and she will accommodate herself to the new situation. A capacity for learning is not a bad talent. We could wish Chinese politicians possessed it in equal measure. It is their corruption or lack of patriotism which has brought China so near to subjection. They cannot hope that chance will always save China from their crimes and vices.

This war breeding business must stop, and no Power is in a stronger position to stop it than the United States of America.

In another somewhat remote corner there is likely to be great trouble if secret treaties made during the war are carried into effect. Rumors come from Syria, Palestine and other parts of western Asia, particularly Asia Minor, that the policy of partitioning by the French and British will cause great strife. Further, Mesopotamia and Persia are deeply concerned as to what will happen if the secret treaties affecting them are carried out. Imagine how short-sighted these European diplomats are, to be seeing imperial red all over their schemes of conquest at a time when the so-called "backward peoples" of western Asia are deeply stirred by national ambition, and support President Wilson's fundamental conditions to the fourteen points!

It is high time America roused itself from apathy. Our controversy seems at present to be wide of the mark. The recent debates on the Monroe Doctrine and the Paris Covenant were not at all inspiring. Looking at the London *Nation* I find a reference to the speech Asquith delivered to an immense audience in the Albert Hall which received him with enthusiasm. *The Nation* sums up his points and says:

> His plea was the most urgent, eloquent, and far-reaching made by any leader of European policy in 1914, and it may be guessed therefore how acute is his sense of the emergency. The governing lines of construction he laid down to be (1) a retention of state sovereignty on the ground that self-determination of nations was a sacred right, but (2) the recognition of the league as the controlling power both in international disputes and in compacts; (3) the scaling down of armaments and the nationalization of munition-making; (4) an international guidance of unfit territories and populations. Failing a league and the spirit of harmony it embodied, mankind might as well pray for the speediest possible return of the glacial epoch. Better a merely physical end to life than that man should organize his own suicide.

Very true, but a League without the fourteen points will not save us. Asquith goes far but not far enough. Why not demand all? The people do not want less than all the fourteen points. They will not be content with merely the four pious provisions laid down by Asquith. Is it too late to hope for reformation in European statesmanship? Too much to expect wisdom light and leading from the old school? Well, it is their last chance. A new school is rising which will have none of the characteristics of the diplomatic gods upon whom the dusk of oblivion descends.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

TO MAUDE ADAMS

There is one debt that I can never pay,
  Though all my words would speak their praise of you.
Yet they can only fail in what they say—
  For you have made such perfect dreams come true.

You are like music, and the thoughts you bring
  Are of glad things that never can grow old,
Joy and brave laughter, and the skies of Spring—
  And these still leave your loveliness untold.

For you are youth, and all that youth may be!
  So shall I ever find you through the years,
And always will you have these gifts for me—
  The joy and laughter that are won from tears.

And as the Spring, your name shall testify
Of winds and sunlight and the April sky!

New York Times. —*Thomas S. Jones, Jr.*

CONTRIBUTED

Collectivities and Individuals—War and the Police

Mr. Bertrand Russell says that "war differs from the employment of force by the police through the fact that the actions of the police are ordered by a neutral authority, whereas in war it is the parties to the dispute itself who set force in motion." It follows that if the use of force against a nation is ordered by a neutral authority, a League of Nations, such use of force would not be war but policing. Now everybody believes in policing. If only armies and navies be called international police, they may be tolerated a while longer. Secretary Daniels pleads for an immense navy as the fitting contribution of our great country to the "world's international police force"!

Mr. Russell's distinction is valid and important. But he fails to mention the most important difference, which is that war is concerned with great collectivities of men, women, and children, while policing is concerned with individuals. Individuals are amenable to force. Criminals can be imprisoned, for their own good as well as for the protection of society. But territorial units, entire populations, are not thus amenable. A nation of fifty millions of human beings can not be handcuffed, or jailed, or hanged by the neck,—the thing is simply impracticable.

The policing of nations is an absurdity as well as an impossibility. In the first place, there is no criminal nation. Burke's wise dictum will bear repetition at this time: "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." The German people, for example, as a whole—workingmen, housewives, boys and girls—are as innocent as any other people, however sadly misled by a few persons in control of their government. Other peoples are sadly misled too, God knows! In the second place, the nations that undertake the "policing" suffer in the process to the same degree, approximately, that the so-called criminal nations suffer. The Moral Order punishes both sides impartially.

The action of police in handling a mob is often brought forward as the analogue of war. A mob is a collectivity, to be sure, albeit extemporaneous and evanescent. But it is not a territorial unit like a city, province, or nation with its thousands or millions of homes and families. It is correctly described as a number of individual, though temporarily and loosely combined, wrongdoers. The effort of the police is to disperse it with the minimum of injury. As a last resort the policemen may use their clubs and even pistols against particularly violent individuals, but the affair is not much like a battle between armies. General Leonard Wood has said: "The policeman's business is to control, the soldier's business is to kill."

The contrast between the police function of society and war is the striking and important fact, not their resemblance. Police are necessary to protect society by physical force from certain *individuals*. They render this service with a fair degree of success. But the use of force by a community against a community, that is, war, is exactly what John Hay called it—"the most ferocious and futile of human follies." It is an irrational procedure, indicative of anarchy, having no proper place within a political organization either national or international. The wholesale killing of men without regard to their individual deserts, and the starving of women and children by siege or blockade, can be described by only one word—insanity.

It is of the utmost importance at the present time to see clearly that armies and navies will remain just as great a danger and nuisance when camouflaged as "international police" as they are now and always have been, and that war will not be changed a bit by being labeled "policing the world," or "enforcing peace."

Our fathers showed their perception of the fact that it is only individuals, not communities, that are amenable to force. They drew an absolute line between coercing individuals and coercing States. In debate in the Constitutional Convention Madison called "for a single instance in which the General Government was not to operate on the people individually," and then proceeded to say that the "practicability of making laws with coercive sanctions for the States as political bodies had been exploded."

In the opinion of your correspondent, Mr. William M. Salter (UNITY, Dec. 12), the fathers were mistaken; because they did their work badly the Civil War came, and the view that a State had a right to secede was disposed of by "blood and iron."

The fact is that the Civil War sprang not from the "deficiency and weakness of our federal system," but from slavery, an institution because of which there was a sectional clash of economic interests, and of prejudice and passion such as to overpower rational considerations. A like sectional antagonism might produce a second civil war, regardless of political theories. As to the value of such theories, "blood and iron" of course have no significance whatever. The victory of the North did not prove Webster right and Calhoun wrong.

I think that Canadians and Australians hold that they have a *right* to secede from the British Empire if they desire. Will that view lead to their secession? Not at all. Does Mr. Salter think the British Constitution defective in that it makes no provision for the coercion of Canada? Let a British Government declare explicitly that Canada has *no* right to secede from the Empire, and that the attempt to secede will be put down by armed force, and *then* Canada would be far more likely to declare its independence than it is now when the question is ignored.

The American Union, theoretically and ideally, despite the vitiating effect of the Civil War on current political thought, is a non-compulsive partnership of commonwealths, held together not by force or the fear of force, but by an enlightened public opinion based on the manifest and vast mutual benefits that result from that partnership.

That the Civil War has not discredited the principle that only individuals, not States, are subject to coercion, is evidently the opinion of Bryce: "Any act of a State legislature or State executive conflicting with the constitution, or with an act of the National government done under the Constitution, is really not an act of the State government, which cannot legally act against the Constitution, but of *persons* falsely assuming to act as such governments, and is therefore *ipso jure* void. Those who disobey Federal authority on the ground of the commands of a State authority are therefore insurgents against the Union who must be coerced by its power. The coercion of such insurgents is directed *not against the State* but against

them as *individual* though combined wrongdoers. A State cannot secede and cannot rebel. Similarly, *it cannot be coerced.*" ("American Commonwealth.")

The Supreme Court has held that "if judgment is rendered against a defendant State in behalf of a plaintiff State, there is no power delegated to the general government, either through the judicial department or any other department, to use any coercive means." Public opinion is the only sanction, and thus far it has proved sufficient.

No treaty creating a league of nations, no political arrangement that human intelligence can devise, will be an absolute guarantee against war. But our federal system, with provision of a court to pass upon disputes between the States, but no provision of force to compel a State to accept the court's decision, is amply vindicated by the experience of more than a century. More than eighty decisions in cases between States have been handed down by our Supreme Court, and in no instance has it employed force to hale a State before it, or to compel the observance of its decrees.

Mr. Salter's contention that at least since the Civil War our Union is a "league, to *enforce* peace—as any local community or commonwealth would speedily find out if it attempted to act for itself regardless of the Union's laws," is hardly warranted by facts. The Southern States have disfranchised negroes in direct violation of the organic law of the Union. The federal government, however, does not intervene. In the reconstruction period federal troops were employed to secure to the negroes their guaranteed rights. The troops were finally withdrawn because it became clear that their presence only made a bad situation worse. At a later time Senator Lodge vainly tried to secure the enactment of the so-called "Force Bill" for federal oversight of Congressional elections. It has been demonstrated that federal bayonets cannot solve the race problem of the South. International bayonets will be equally ineffectual with the social problems of Russia and the Central Powers. Only enlightenment, patience, good will, can avail.

It appears to be an unfortunate result of the Great War that the philosophy of force has become a well nigh universal obsession. We are asked even to "enforce peace" by making war, and the self-contradiction "gets by"! The Master's beatitude is applied to soldiers *par excellence*—they, forsooth, are the real peace-*makers*, not mere peace-*talkers!* The time demands clear thinking, and there is hardly anything more important than to distinguish properly between the soldier and the policeman. The use of force against individual wrongdoers is a necessary social function for which police are maintained. The use of force against territorial units, entire populations, for which armies and navies are maintained, is irrational, unworthy of human beings. Madison and Hamilton saw the distinction clearly and put it into our Constitution. The framers of the "League of Nations" may well learn of them. It may not at present be practicable to provide for the coercion of individuals within the nations by an international authority, but at any rate the folly of providing for the coercion of nations as such can be avoided. *As long as armies and navies exist, there will be war. Disarmament is the first condition of peace.*

HENRY W. PINKHAM.

Winthrop, Mass.

"You Can't Believe the Newspapers"

The average American journalist is obliged to write down to a standard, not up to an ideal. Newspapers are commercial institutions, glorified handbills, with the news thrown in to make the advertisements interesting. Even the great metropolitan journals are "sold out"; they are controlled by "interests" or by groups of persons interested in "the interests." Journalists do not dare to be truthful. They would like to be honest, but they can't be. This is no special reflection on journalists as a class, but in general it does apply. For the journalist is a wage worker and he has to do what he is told. Newspaper editors are not wholly responsible. And newspaper proprietors are sometimes honest. They, like their servants, are victims of the system.

So long as it is not *profitable* to be honest, newspapers will lie, misrepresent and distort. The expression "you can't believe the newspapers" is justified. But it implies a criticism of all capitalist society. If the people insisted on honesty the publishers would probably have to be honest. It happens, unfortunately, that honesty is not the best policy in the publishing industry. Truth is not always wanted. The people demand lies. Any journalist will confirm this statement. If any single newspaper tries to be truthful, its readers go to other papers. The least accurate newspapers in New York have the largest circulation. It is because the public has certain fixed ideas, certain prejudices and dogmas, that demand gratification. People would rather read a highly colored account of a murder trial than an intelligent report of a great discussion of public policy. The people love the sensational. This is, of course, a double-edged proposition. For it is true that this is a false or at least a stimulated demand. It has been created by these same newspapers. They have taught their readers to expect the lurid. Competition is responsible. In the effort to outbid and checkmate or "beat" another paper, any editor will go to any length. For, to return to our first statement, a newspaper is a business enterprise. Until the curse of competition is removed the press will be venial, false and anti-social.

Magazines labor under the same difficulties. A magazine is usually only a grown-up newspaper, a little more dignified, perhaps, and a little better printed, but nevertheless subject to the same laws. The most successful magazine is that which is most sensational and most untrue. To be a successful magazine publisher one must be either absolutely unscrupulous or absolutely honest. There is no middle ground. One must either excel in misrepresentation or in accuracy. There are the two definite extremes. One is truth and the other untruth. At one end is the lying paper, the paper that out-Herods Herod, that is less accurate than any rival. At the other is the paper that represents life so faithfully, so generously, as to outdistance every neighbor. Such a place is not easily gained or held. We have in America the greatest reading public in the world. But we have only a half dozen honest newspapers and not more than twenty honest magazines. The people know this. And so we have a common phrase, one that is heard on all sides, which is an indictment and a challenge to every honest man of letters in the country. "You can't believe the newspapers."

New York City. JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

News from Europe

Poland's War.—How long are we to submit to the condition of being treated by the press and the State Department as if we were children? This business of hiding the truth of affairs in Eastern Europe is absurd. The British press, and now not infrequently the French press, publish reports which do not find their way to the columns of our newspapers. The story of the Polish pogroms was given to Britain several weeks ago by the London *Times*. Recently several British papers have dealt with the invasion of Germany by Poland. The *Manchester Guardian* deals with this last exploit of Polish imperialism in the following leading article:

How many people, we wonder, understand that when the newspapers talk about the German attack on the Poles the real fact is that the Poles have overrun a great part of German territory, and that what the Germans are doing is to try to repel them or prevent them from going farther? Yet the province of Posen, which the Poles have invaded, has been German, or Prussian, for more than a hundred years, and though in large part it is inhabited by Poles whom the Germans have vainly endeavored to Germanize, it is not so everywhere, and in any case the Poles have obviously no right to anticipate the decision of the Peace Conference and to overrun territory which is an integral part of the German State. Undoubtedly most of the province of Posen will have to form part of a reconstituted Poland, but to talk about the resistance of Germany to Polish aggression as though it were an aggression by Germany upon the Poles is sheer hypocrisy; yet this language of hypocrisy is used by almost all the newspapers and by Reuter in the official telegrams. It may be inconvenient to turn out the Poles from the territory they have wrongfully overrun, but in that case why not say so, instead of pretending that Germany, who has plenty of crimes to her account, has now perpetrated a fresh one and holding up hands in horror? A little time ago an official warning was issued by the Peace Conference to the effect that all these attempts to jump claims must cease, and that such aggression, instead of helping the case of the aggressor, would count against him. Yet here we find it laid down as part of the terms of the latest armistice that the Poles are to be confirmed in all that they have laid hands on. Have they also been told, as the Germans pertinently inquire, that they must not lay hands on any more, and that if a line is now drawn it must be respected by both sides?

Japan and Universal Suffrage.—Japan is making rapid strides toward democracy. The franchise is now a burning question in the land of the Mikado. We learn that great demonstrations are being organized in favor of universal suffrage. Business men and landlords are just now the only persons on the voting lists and the late premier was wholly opposed to any extension of the franchise. A great change has, however, taken place recently, and now the Government is considering the question of making some slight extension. But the demand for universal suffrage is so great that revolution is feared if the Government does not recognize the claims of the populace. The *Manchester Guardian* says:

It would be rash to say that the demand will be satisfied, although Japanese politicians are far from brave and Japanese mobs have a tradition of violence. Doubtless in the long run democracy would humanize Japanese domestic and foreign policy, and cleanse in some measure Japanese administration. Nevertheless, the Japanese masses, who at present are politically inexperienced and uneducated, have often shown themselves more jingo than their masters, so that there might be a trying transition period. Still, a League of Nations would be a safeguard against that.

Rumanian Atrocities.—According to a Reuter telegram to London reporting the speech of Count Karolyi, the President of the Hungarian Republic, delivered in the Senate at Budapest, the Rumanians are not sparing their foes. Count Karolyi said:

Although the war is ended, it appears that Roumania wants to outdo even German cruelties. In the occupied territories of Transylvania, where Hungary, while appealing to right and morality, is now suffering martyrdom, the Roumanians are wreaking their hatred on innocent people and committing medieval cruelties. Greybeards and women are beaten with sticks. The Roumanians cut off the arms and feet of captured Hungarians and strew salt on the bleeding stumps. The Hungarian people lodges a protest with the public opinion of the civilized West against these barbarities, and begs for protection. Our peoples cannot be made responsible for the war itself, for they were often driven against their fellow men with knouts and machine guns.

The speaker recalled his consistent attitude of hostility to the war and the German alliance, and his strivings after a *rapprochement* with the Entente as entitling him to speak. He continued: "Only such a peace can be lasting as is based on the people's right of self-determination and understanding between the peoples. I rely on the victory of President Wilson's specific teaching, and I do not believe that the great President of the United States will allow the Allies, instead of making peace, to undertake penal expeditions against innocent peoples, nor that he will allow, in place of the old imperialism which has now come to an end, a new imperialism to arise and again threaten the peace of the world. I trust in a peace of understanding, too, because America and President Wilson will find strong support in the truly democratic politicians and statesmen of Italy, Great Britain and France. Amongst them is Mr. Lloyd George, who, even before the war, had made his name respected throughout the world by his broad radical and democratic reforms."

Count Karolyi concluded by saying that a new Hungary would be created by work, and made worthy to perfect its union with the great western states.

Lloyd George's Trump Card.—The New York *World* correspondent at Paris tells the following story of the discussion by the Conference of the question of feeding Germany.

The American mission pointed out that by Congressional action they were debarred from acceptance of the plan, and another deadlock was threatened when Premier Lloyd George, always master of strategy, played his trump card. He read with dramatic effect a telegram to him from Gen. Plumer, commanding the British Army of Occupation, known as Great Britain's greatest military leader next to Field Marshal Haig, which read, in substance, that "the British soldiery would revolt rather than continue to be compelled to see starving children and women on the streets of the German towns."

The effect of this telegram was electric. It brought home to all present, not so much the plight of the Germans, as the reaction upon the men who had for four years and more fought against the very people they now demanded aid for. The Prime Minister added that Gen. Plumer would scarcely be accused of any pro-Germanism. His attitude was based upon reason and justice and vision as to what was right, as well as sympathy, the speaker said.

Clemenceau Gives Way

Then, as an added stress, records were produced showing that there had been general comment on the part of the Council of Ten, as well as the Supreme Economic body, that Germany was to pay for her food directly. With these two points before them, the council agreed unanimously that no further obstacle extend to action, and Premier Clemenceau himself announced full participation on the part of the French.

Accordingly, when the German Government has been told the conditions food will begin to flow, the payments being made in three ways. The first through raw materials that Germany will supply; second, through the use of credits in neutral countries; and third, if the sums involved make this course necessary, by outright payment from German gold reserves.

As a preliminary to everything, Germany turns over her merchant fleet, which will be used to take American and other troops home at the rate of 70,000 monthly and bring back food.

Francis Neilson.

"An Eye-Witness from Russia"

III

FROM THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, JANUARY 23, 1919.

The characteristic feature of the Czecho-Slovak movement in Russia and Siberia is the intense national feeling among the officers and men which led them to desert from the Austro-German armies. Practically all the troops deserted, and many of the officers fled from their country in the last days of July, 1914, rather than fight on behalf of the Austro-German Government. Apparently it was a feature of the Austrian army that Czech battalions should be commanded by officers who were not of Czech nationality. In the same way Italian troops were not officered by Italians, because the Imperial Government was afraid that national feeling might override Imperial loyalty. Talking with Czechs, one hears again and again of the plots which were schemed and carried out on the eastern front, when officers were shot and battalions in the night quietly slipped over to friendly Russia, carrying with them sometimes full equipment, leaving dangerous gaps in the Austrian line.

The Imperial Russian Government, however glad it might be to have a break in the line of the enemy, did not receive these deserters from Imperial rule with the welcome which they had expected, and for the most part the Czechs who had thus seriously compromised their position at home were admitted into Russia only as prisoners. Under the Provisional Government their position noticeably improved; under Kerensky's they received the welcome and recognition so long delayed. They were organized again as fighting battalions, and became the backbone of Kerensky's army and the chief factor in his advance. When the armies of the new Russian Republic melted away, these Czecho-Slovak visitors were the only effective fighting force left, and it was by them that the Ukraine was held.

THE FRENCH OFFER

When it appeared that fighting could not be resumed effectively on the eastern front the French offered to take the Czecho-Slovaks, via America, to the western front, promising them a pleasant journey round the world and a welcome at the other end. As evidence of good faith they sent money to Russia for their pay and for new equipment, leaving it to the Czechs themselves to arrange the details of the expenditure of this money. The Bolsheviks promised transport across Russia and Siberia on condition that the arms and the men should travel on different trains. An allowance of one rifle per wagon was permitted.

The slow journey began. The disorganization of the railways at that time and the small number of locomotives contributed to make the transport of 60,000 men over a stretch of 6,000 miles of line a very serious problem. In order to hold up normal traffic, the trains were released slowly, so that there should be about 200 miles between each train and the next. Each of these trains had to be hauled over three mountain ranges, and the number of special locomotives available for this purpose was very limited. Life on such a journey as this was monotonous to a degree. Living on freight cars often held up days at a time at wayside stations, out of touch with civilization and their comrades, it was natural that the troops should be brought to a condition of nervous irritability for which there seemed no remedy. Naturally active and holding in their minds all the time the ideal of fighting for and liberating their country from the hated German rule, they showed the impatience of youth and the suspiciousness of an oppressed people. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had placed the Bolsheviks in a bad position, and they suspected them of being in the pay of the Germans and of deliberately retarding their progress on the 20,000-mile journey to the French front.

There were grounds, perhaps, for this suspicion. Trotsky had hoped that if they were delayed long enough in free Russia they would come to see the Bolshevik position and would be as unwilling to fight for French capitalists as they were to fight for Austro-German Imperial rule. While Trotsky was spreading Bolshevik propaganda among the troops, the Social Revolutionary Right and many who were frankly reactionary also employed propaganda. The latter group played on the anti-German passion of the Czechs as much as Trotsky appealed to the sense of international brotherhood and to the pacifist attitude. Some of the Czechs were afraid of being trapped by the Bolsheviks and handed over to Germany. On what grounds this fear was based I was quite unable to discover.

THE CZECH RISING.

Owing to the prolonged inaction of the men and to the tense atmosphere caused by so much propaganda, conditions were ripe for an outbreak. Towards the middle of May a disturbance occurred in Penza, and the town fell into the hands of the enemy, as at Jericho, at the blast of a trumpet. The Czecho-Slovaks seized ammunition and pressed on to Suizran. The Bolshevik guard at the great bridge over the Volga were surprised in the night and Samara followed in the course of a few days.

The course of events in Tchelyabinsk is characteristic of the uprising. A Magyar prisoner of war, a servant of the railways, had a dispute with some Czechs. In the fight which followed the Magyar was killed, and the authorities of the town protested and imprisoned the men who had killed him. There were two trainloads of Czechs in the Tchelyabinsk station at the time, and the men on them felt that their national honor was at stake owing to this imprisonment. They seemed to see in this the guiding hand of Germany and a clear evidence that the Bolsheviks intended to stop their journey. They demanded that the civil authorities should release their comrades, and followed their demand immediately by a demonstration of force. They shot about a dozen of the militia who were guarding the town, rushed the magazine and captured all the arms and ammunition. This was done with a force of not more than 100 rifles, but it must be remembered that in Tchelyabinsk there was not at that time a Bolshevik force, but only a few platoons of militia.

At this point the Czech National Council and their French advisers recommended that matters should quiet down and that the Czechs should hand over the town again to the Bolsheviks. This course, after severe comment and much irritation, was adopted, and they returned to their trains expecting to proceed. But on that day they heard that fighting had occurred between the Bolsheviks and the Czechs at several

points on the line. Orders had come through from Major Gaida that all telegraph stations were to be seized and no messages sent except by Czech officers. The town was recaptured in a few hours by the Czechs.

Fighting continued all along the Siberian line, and towards the end of June Irkutsk fell into the hands of the Czechs. Soon after this happened Colonel Emerson, of the American Railroad Commission, arrived in the city and tried to arbitrate between the Czechs and the Bolsheviks. As a condition of armistice the Czechs gave up Irkutsk to the Bolsheviks. The period of armistice came to an end without a decision of peace, because the suspicion was again aroused that the Czechs were being held up by the Bolsheviks at the instigation of Germany.

IN MANCHURIA.

In Russia and Siberia the political situation was simple in the extreme compared with that which existed in Manchuria. General Horvat, who had been appointed governor of Kharbin by the Tsar, and who was vice-president of the Chinese Eastern Railway, had kept the old regime element in such a strong position that Bolshevism never got a hold in Manchuria. The General exerted his personal power in every direction. He would not permit the Czechs who were already in Vladivostok to come to the assistance of their comrades in Central Siberia by means of his direct Trans-Manchurian line, and the burden of the military operations, therefore in the capture of Tchita and Verkne Udinsk fell upon General Gaika, who was embarrassed by difficulties of transport and long lines of communication in unfriendly territory, and this action of General Horvat probably delayed the opening of the Trans-Siberian line for several weeks. The Bolsheviks, in retiring from the Trans-Baikal region, were forced to take the northern route by the Amur, where they were met by Japanese, Chinese and American troops, or else to lay down their arms and go south, scattering themselves in North China. General Horvat, in his capacity as dictator in Manchuria, was able to show his sympathy now to one party, now to another. In the second week of September General Simeonoff was in favor, but the Allies were not. Later on the Allies were in favor, but Simeonoff was not recognized, and the struggle to maintain a balance of power exercised the minds of all diplomats except the Americans, who were content to wait until all these "natives" should settle their affairs in their own way.

The political situation in Vladivostok caused the greatest anxiety to all parties. In the early morning of July 3 the Czechs attacked the town from the surrounding hills and drove the Bolsheviks into the central square. At that moment the Bolsheviks were surprised by machine-gun fire from the roof of the British Consulate, H. M. S. Suffolk having contributed the guns and, we heard, also the men. The Bolsheviks regarded this as an act of war, and used it as a means of propaganda. The Allies and the Czechs took the town, put the Bolshevik civil authorities in prison, and declared that they would give the town a free election without the possibility of Bolshevik coercion. The Bolshevik civil authorities who were in prison were returned at the election, and the Allies and Russians who were co-operating stated that as the men who had been elected were serving their sentences in prison, a new Government would have to be constituted. This action was used by the Bolsheviks for the purposes of propaganda. On the 12th of August a state of war was declared between Great Britain and the Government of Central Russia, and the Bolsheviks used as an argument for recruiting the fact that their enemies were attempting to dictate the form of government which should be adopted by the Russian people.

JOHN RICKMAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

A WORD FROM THE SOUTH

Dear UNITY:

These early March days in the section of the Sunny South round about Citronelle, Ala., are bringing much rain and chilly nights, but they are also bringing the gorgeous japonica, the stately magnolia, the exquisite yellow jasmine and the beautiful mountain laurel, while asparagus and strawberries are just about ready to harvest. The season—as usual—is late, the hotels are full of "March escapers" and the woods of splendid Georgia pine full of the odors of flowers and the music of birds, the mocking bird holding the place of honor.

Last Sunday afternoon our colored population invited the white folks to a Jubilee song performance, the particular end in view being as we supposed a collection for the new church which stands a big unfinished shell of a building on one of the most sightly spots in the town. It developed however in the course of the almost agonized appeal to the white tourists, that the money was needed for a new overcoat for the parson, "a little late for this winter but handy for next." The program of exercises was in charge of a colored gentleman of gifts. He not only led the choir with much energy and just the right interpolated syncopations, in singing the old songs, "Swing low, sweet chariot," "Steal away to Jesus," "Thank God, I'm free," "Get on the train," and a lot more, but he recited in a way that would have done credit to any Chicago school of elocution a little poem which I am passing along to UNITY, if it is deemed worthy a place in its columns. I asked the gentleman for the author's name and he modestly acknowledged, "Well, I done composed it myself." His name was J. T. Ford and here is the poem:

WHERE DO YOU LIVE?

I knew a man, his name was Horner,
He used to live on Grumble Corner,
Grumble Corner in Cross Patch Town,
And he never was seen without a frown.
He grumbled at this, he grumbled at that,
He growled at the dog, he growled at the cat,
He grumbled at morning, he grumbled at night,
And to grumble and growl was his chief delight.

He grumbled so much at his wife that she
Began to grumble as well as he.
And all the children wherever they went
Reflected their parents' discontent.
If the sky was dark and betokened rain
Then Mr. Horner was sure to complain
And if there was not a cloud about
He'd grumble because of a threatened drought.

His meals were never to suit his taste,
He'd grumble at having to eat in haste.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE FOUR DOMINIONS.

To the Editor of UNITY:

Many critics are much alarmed at the possibility of Great Britain's four dominions being admitted to the body of delegates in the league of nations on the same basis as Holland and Denmark. Apparently none of them have observed a very important advantage that will accrue if this occurs. It would definitely decide the political status of these colonies as independent states and it would preclude their receiving any advantage as to preferential tariffs because of membership in the British Empire.

They must choose one position or the other. If they want a vote in the house of delegates, they must give up membership in the British Empire so far as economic and political privileges are concerned.

It is manifest that if the purpose of the economic commission is realized in Paris there will be no more preferential tariffs between nations. The principle laid down in the fourteen points of President Wilson that there must be "removal of economic barriers so far as possible" must begin with the removal of preferential tariffs. Whether these could be removed between a mother country and colonies may be disputed, but, assuredly, if the four colonies elect to have a vote in the house of delegates, they forfeit all privilege.

Most English-speaking people are like-minded as regards democratic government and world policies. It should be a matter of congratulation if we have four of our cousins sitting with us, as they would be far more likely to indorse our views than would any other people upon earth.

Lucia Ames Mead.

Boston, March 12, 1919.

SHOES FOR SIBERIA.

Thomas E. Jones, a Friends' missionary, now working with the Red Cross at Vladivostok, is rendering much relief to the people in that part of Siberia. The following is from a report made by his wife, who is engaged on a similar mission among the Japanese. The latter is dated Sapporo, Japan, January 20th:

"God bless the Friends in Japan who love us enough to help us when we are in trouble," said a refugee woman, with the tears streaming down her cheeks, as she received her share of the warm garments sent over by Friends in Japan. Hers were not the only tears, for men, women and children alike were too overcome with joy to restrain their tears. We can imagine a little girl looking at her red and swollen hands and then at her new mittens, and hugging them for joy of their warmth; or some boy carefully tucking his frost-bitten ears into a soft cap; or a man hastily putting on the first real shoes he has had for months; or a mother wrapping her baby in a warm shawl.

Thomas E. Jones, after telling about this touching scene, says: "I do hope that Japanese Friends will continue to send warm garments and mittens and stockings. Shoes especially are appreciated. *Because the war is over in Europe is no indication that distress is finished here.*" While the military needs of the Red Cross are not great now, those for typhus and influenza and other diseases, especially in the interior, are beyond belief, and there is as great or greater need than ever for clothing and living quarters for refugees. The railroad is not yet running satisfactorily, and when a Red Cross train of twenty-four cars of supplies can get through to the interior it seems like nothing in the face of the terrible need.

—Friends' Intelligencer.

HOW RELIGION GROWS.

The other night, when two little boys were getting ready for bed, the younger, aged three, complained that he was afraid, and the mother, busy about her tasks, overheard the older, aged five, say something to him about "trust."

"What was that?" she asked.

"Oh, I was just telling brother to do what I do when I feel afraid."

"What do you do?"

"I just say, 'In Thee do I put my trust,' and then I am not afraid. That is what Miss B. taught me in Sunday-school."

A child's magic talisman, perhaps; but who that knows children can doubt that here is the root of real religion? Imbedded in the soil of expanding experience, and nourished in the life of a Christian home, one may hope that the little prayer will grow with the child who said it. If it does, one need not fear for the man that is to be.—*From the Pilgrim Magazine.*

Jennie F. W. Johnson
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The bread was poor or the meat was tough
Or else he hadn't had half enough.
No matter how hard his wife might try
To please her husband, with scoundrel eye,
He would look around, then with a scowl
At something or other begin to growl.

One day as I loitered along the street,
My old acquaintance I chanced to meet.
His face was without a look of care
Or the ugly frown he used to wear.
I met him next day and met him again
In melting weather, in pouring rain,
When stocks were up and when stocks were down,
But a smile somehow had replaced the frown.

It puzzled me much, and so one day
I seized his hand in a friendly way
And said, "Mr. Horner, I'd like to know
What can have happened to change you so."
He laughed a laugh that was good to hear.
It told of a conscience calm and clear,
And said with none of the old-time drawl,
"I've changed my residence, that is all."

"Changed your residence!" "Yes," said Horner,
"It wasn't healthy on Grumble Corner,
So I moved. It was a change complete,
You will find me now on Thanksgiving Street."

A. L. K.

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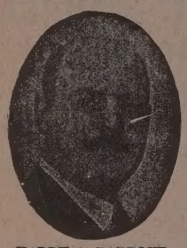

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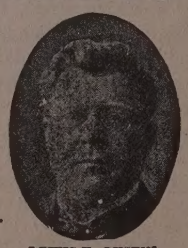

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